

A STUDY ON THE LOCAL CHARACTER OF THE CULT OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS
IN ASIA MINOR:
THE SEBASTEION OF APHRODISIAS

BY

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Abstract

The local imperial cult temple, unsanctioned by Rome, was a prominent urban characteristic of medium-sized cities in Roman Asia Minor. However, it is often overshadowed in modern scholarship that emphasizes official cult centers sanctioned by Rome. Constructed by families with no formal connection to Rome, the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in modern Turkey is a unique imperial cult complex. Through its architectural and sculptural programs, the Sebasteion displays the Carian city's complicated relationship with Rome. The primary goal of this thesis is to situate the Sebasteion complex within the framework of imperial cult scholarship as established by Burrell and Friesen. I will begin with a discussion of previous scholarship regarding the origins theories of imperial cult and provincial rivalry in Asia Minor, followed by an analysis of the two distinct cults that form the basis for worship. I will then analyze the Sebasteion complex as a whole, including a general introduction to the site and its excavation history, its architecture, sculpture, and epigraphy, which illuminate the presence of Roman imperial propaganda through the Greek perspective of a medium-sized city in rural Caria. The conclusion will discuss the Sebasteion as a local imperial cult center and how the complex reflects Aphrodisias' relationship with Rome and its need to compete with other prominent cities in Asia Minor.

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LIST OF ANCIENT SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Aristid. <i>Or.</i> XIX	P. Aelius Aristides. <i>The Complete Works: Vol. II. Orations XVII-LII</i> . Translated by Charles A. Behr. Leiden, Netherlands and New York, NY: E. J. Brill, 1981.
Philostr. <i>VS</i>	
Plin. <i>HN</i>	
Serv. <i>ad Aeneas</i>	
Seut. <i>Nero</i>	
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> I-IV (ed. H. Mattingly <i>et al.</i> , 1923-62).
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> I-IV (ed. A. Boeckh, 1828-77).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (ed. Th. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , 1863—).
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> I-IV (ed. R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> , 1906-27).
<i>IGS</i>	<i>Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
Reynolds, <i>A&R</i>	J. M. Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i> (JRS Monograph 1, London 1982).
Reynolds <i>et al.</i> , <i>IAph 2007</i>	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (2007) available < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/ >
Reynolds, <i>Pippidi</i>	J. M. Reynolds, "Further Information on Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias," in <i>Festschrift D.M.Pippidi = StClass</i> 24 (1986) 109-17.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO IMPERIAL CULT AND PROVINCIAL RIVALRY
IN ASIA MINOR

In order to position the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias within the framework of imperial cult in Asia Minor an analysis of the origin of the cult is necessary.¹ In addition, a discussion of the various ways provincial rivalry was manifest during the first and second centuries C.E. will highlight the interaction between neighboring cities. However, it is important to begin with the understanding that the centuries preceding Augustus gave rise to other cults in the Greek East, specifically the cults of rulers and of individual Roman commanders and the Senate. These cults were established to give honors to influential, powerful men for political benefactions. Although they differed from the imperial cult in that they were fluid institutions that would only continue for brief periods of time, they were similar in that both cults honored those considered to be the greatest of men. More importantly, however, is that both honored the living. In this context, Hellenistic ruler cults may be viewed as the predecessors of the much later Roman imperial cult. Ultimately, they are united by the concept that, “cities established cults as an attempt to come to terms with a new type of power.” This trend is evident in ruler cults during the era of the

I would like to thank R. R. R. Smith and New York University for allowing me to utilize images from the Aphrodisias Project. I owe thanks to my thesis advisor, Prof. Philip Stinson, for his willingness to share his extensive knowledge on Aphrodisias and the Sebasteion with me, and most of all, for his patience. I would also like to thank my readers, Prof. John Younger and Prof. Pamela Gordon, for their time and instructive criticism of my work. My research builds upon work that I began during my undergraduate education at the University of South Florida and therefore, I would like to thank Prof. Julie Langford for being a constant source of inspiration in every facet of my education.

¹ Please note that for the purposes of this research I will refer only to the imperial cult traditions in Asia Minor, citing the most relevant scholarly sources for this information, cf. Price 1984; Friesen 2001; Burrell 2004. For sources that provide information about the historical relationship between Greece and Rome see Magie 1975; Bowersock 1965; Swain 1996.

Hellenistic Kings, in the cult of Roma with the initial spread of Rome's power, and finally in the imperial cult with Rome's complete dominance over its eastern provinces.²

The focus of this study is on imperial cult in Asia Minor, but in order to understand the uniqueness of eastern cults a comparison between imperial cult in the western provinces will be provided. The province of Asia approached Octavian in 30/29 B.C.E. and requested the permission to establish a cult to the conqueror. Octavian accepted and set up the guidelines for the cult. The province was allowed to establish a cult to the living, 'soon-to-be' emperor with the specifications that non-Roman provincial citizens could worship the emperor himself, and resident Roman citizens were required to worship Roma and Divus Julius. The result of this initial request from the province of Asia was the establishment of a new policy at Rome that stated that the emperor could not be worshipped as himself, since he was still living. However, the emperor had already adopted a long list of honors that included a decree by the Senate in 30 B.C.E. that required offerings of wine be poured to his *genius*. The most apparent distinction between eastern and western imperial cult is that in the east it was acceptable to worship the emperor as a living god from the cult's beginning, whereas in the west this practice was complicated. In Rome, Augustus utilized his *genius* to represent himself and receive libations and dedications that could have been freely offered to him in the eastern cults. Prior to Augustus' deification, local cult temples were erected with a dedication to the

² I rely on Price 1986, 21-29 for the majority of the information in this paragraph.

'*Genius of Augustus*', as stated in an architrave inscription from Pompeii.³ After the deification of Augustus, temples began to be dedicated to the Divus Augustus and this set the precedent for temples to be erected in honor of the current emperor, regardless of whether he was deceased or not. However, the provincial city was required to make a request to the emperor for the permission to establish a cult and erect a temple, mimicking the procedure that had been set up by eastern provincial cities two decades earlier.⁴ Requests from western provincial cities were often denied by the emperor, unlike requests in the east which were frequently, if not always, granted.

The people who engaged in imperial cult activity in the west provide another distinction between the two cults. Provincial cities in the west had a private sector of people, the *Augustales*, who were active participants in imperial cult practices. The *Augustales* were not priests so they did not actively care for the temple, but they were responsible for setting up dedications, games, and monuments. The *Augustales* are not present in the Greek east, with the exception of Roman colonies. Therefore, the *Augustales* were unique to the imperial cult in the west.⁵

The imperial cult in Asia Minor, at its most basic level of interpretation, is a reflection of how provincial cities dealt with being subjected to Rome's authority. It was essential for cities to create a place for the emperor within their own civic cults and in doing so, the imperial cult became a religious movement that bound the

³ *CIL* X. 816.

⁴ Fishwick 2002 Vol. III.1, 3, 230; Fishwick 2002 Vol. II.1, 375-382; Gradel 2002, 76-77. There is no evidence for a cult to Roma and Divus Julius anywhere in the western provinces except for Arlete.

⁵ Gradel 2002, 229.

emperor to provincial citizens on an intimate level.⁶ There is a direct correlation between the spread of Roman political influence and the initiative to promote cults that favored Rome. This relationship is evidenced as far back as 195 B.C.E. when an Aphrodisian dedicatory treatise inscribed on a marble altar recounted the relationship between Zeus Philios, Homonoia, and Dea Roma:

Διὶ Φιλίῳ καὶ Ὁμονοίῳ κα[ι]	
Θεῶν Ῥώμῃ οἱ δῆμοι οἱ τε [?ν.]	
Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισ[ι]-	
έων καὶ ὁ Κιβυράτων καὶ ὁ Τα-	
βηνῶν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὄρκι[α]	5
καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαύτην καὶ σφ[ά]-	
[για] ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φ[ύσ]-	
[ει] συμμαχίας καὶ ὁμονοίας	
[αἰ]ωνίου καὶ ἀδελφότητος κα[ι]	
[ύ]πὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν ὑ<π>εναντίον	10
[π]ράξειν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις μήτ[ε]	
αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε τινὰ γράψαι, μ[ή]-	
τε εἰπεῖν, μήτε εἰσαγγεῖλαι, μ[ή]-	
τε ἀναγράψαι κατὰ τῶν ἐν το[ῖς]	
ὄρκις ἀναγεγραμμένων [?ν.ν.]	15
τὸν δὲ πράξαντά τι κατὰ τοῦτ[ων]	
ἐξώλη εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ γε[νε]-	
άν, καὶ ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτῳ, καὶ [εὐ]-	
θύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλομέν[ου]	
καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκα[ς]	20
ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὅσα ἂν δ[ύ]-	
νατον ἢ συνπράξειν ἀπροφασί[σ]-	
τως καὶ τὰ συνωμολογημένα τη[ρ]-	
[ή]σειν <i>vacat</i> .	

To Zeus Philios, Homonoia, and the goddess Roma; (dedicated by) the People of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, of Cibrya and of Tabae who having performed oaths over freshly killed offerings and sacrifices for the purposes of their alliance, eternal harmony, and brotherhood with one another; and so that they by no means take action in opposition either to the Romans or to each other and that no one shall draft, advocate, introduce a proposal or record anything contrary to what has been written in the sworn agreements; and that anyone who does anything in contravention of these shall be utterly destroyed, himself and his family, liable to a capital penalty and open to prosecution by anyone who wishes and in accordance with their common agreements, and that they shall jointly promote each other's advantage in every possible way, unreservedly; and that they shall observe what has been agreed.⁷

⁶ Price 1986, 1.

⁷ Reynolds 1982, 6. The Oath of Plarasa/Aphrodisias; cf. Reynolds, *A&R* 1.

The inscription dedicated by the citizens of Aphrodisias and Plarasa states that they will advocate “concord and brotherhood” with Rome. This inscription demonstrates the preliminary integration of the goddess Roma into provincial politics and places her alongside the domestic deity of Zeus Philios in a harmonious relationship.

Price notes that there was a ‘decisive change’ in cult practices with the advent of Augustus as emperor.⁸ Local Greek religious practices ceased to be static establishments and were forced to be reinvented and modified to reflect dynastic changes.⁹ In addition, the imperial cult became more than just a means for citizens to attain a relationship with the emperor. After Greece and its provinces came under Roman control in the early second century B.C.E., they elected to establish a working reciprocal relationship with Rome. If fostered correctly, this relationship would allow the provinces to flourish from Rome’s benefactions to its cities. The provinces accepted and adapted to Rome’s newfound imperial ideal, which focused on uniting Rome’s subjects under one emperor.¹⁰ Although the provinces showed acquiescence to the notion of imperial unity, this concept simultaneously spurred the need for them to distinguish themselves to Rome.

During this time Greek identity was undergoing a transition. Formerly independent cities accustomed to self-governance were now subdued by Roman domination. From the period of the Julio-Claudians through the third century C.E., provincial cities reconfigured and reasserted their identity, not in the military sense,

⁸ Price 1986, 54.

⁹ Price 1986, 61. I am utilizing the term “local” to refer to cities within the confines of Asia Minor, and at times to refer to customs that are common within the confines of a specific city.

¹⁰ Ando 2000, 19.

but culturally and politically, as evidenced through the establishment of imperial cult centers, imperial art and architecture, extant numismatic evidence, and the literary movement of the Second Sophistic.¹¹ Thus it would appear that the provinces went through a period of Romanization in order to come to terms with their subjugation to Rome.

Romanization, in its original sense, describes the process through which provinces and cities conquered by Rome began the gradual integration of Roman literature, art, customs, and rhetoric into their daily lives.¹² Romanization in Asia Minor has been identified as more complex because Roman influence was practically nonexistent on a civic, local level and remained confined to the military and administration.¹³ Woolf considers Romanization in the east to be a 'refashioning of the relationship' between Hellenistic traditions that preserve cultural heritage and the presence of new Roman customs.¹⁴ This project investigates current theories in Romanization studies involving the Greek-speaking provinces because it attempts to view Rome from the Greek perspective.¹⁵ The early imperial period in the Greek east was a time marked by the intense renewal of past Hellenistic traditions. This regression to the 'old ways' is explained as a dissatisfaction with the present reality of Roman rule and thus a harkening back to the past was preferred. As a result, it was once thought that Rome had little influence on the Greek east and that Roman customs were most likely scorned by

¹¹ Desideri 2002, 223.

¹² Woolf 1997, 339-341.

¹³ Galinsky 2002, 921.

¹⁴ Woolf 1994, 125. Woolf discusses Romanization only in the east in this article. Woolf (1997) discusses the Romanization in the west, such as Gaul and Britain.

¹⁵ Cf. Alcock 2002; Woolf 1994; Ando 2000.

the Greeks.¹⁶ However, recent advances in research have demonstrated Rome's real influence was present and is evidenced through the incorporation of imperial portraiture and the amalgamation of Greek and Roman architectural styles seen in many building projects. The focus of this study, the Sebasteion complex at Aphrodisias, provides an example of the way the relationship between Rome and a provincial city was refashioned to reflect the problematic nature of Romanization in Asia Minor.

The necessity to be prominent within the regional sphere and in Rome's eyes caused constant competition between cities, each of which wanted to appear more worthy of Rome's attention than their counterparts. Thus, provincial rivalry became manifest in the aforementioned areas and also in the establishment of civic festivals and imperial building projects. Within each of these areas, it is possible to analyze the manner in which particular cities interacted with Rome. Although Aphrodisias was not as prominent as other cities in Asia Minor, such as Smyrna and Ephesus, which had a long-standing rivalry with each other, I consider its creation of an imperial cult sanctuary in the Julio-Claudian period to be a direct response to the rivalries between such cities. In addition, the emergence of competitive festivals became one of the 'dominating features' of civic life in Asia Minor under the Roman Empire.¹⁷ Competitions were athletic, artistic, or both and often only accepted competitors from the host city. Therefore, since a triumphal processional return was made to the victor's hometown, victories brought prestige to both victor and

¹⁶ Woolf 1994 116-118; cf. Bowersock 1965; Levick 1967; Hahn 1906; Isaac 1990.

¹⁷ Mitchell 1993, 217.

city.¹⁸ This promoted competition between cities to see which would gain the privilege of hosting the festivals and as a result, promote their own civic heritage.

Lastly, I will briefly discuss the use of Second Sophistic oratory as a means of fueling provincial rivalry to illustrates the evolution of rivalry toward an oratory-based medium in the late second century C.E., while the second chapter will analyze the role imperial cult played in perpetuating the need to be prominent in Rome's eyes via the establishment of two distinct types of cults, provincial and municipal.¹⁹

Second Sophistic oratory served as a medium for the verbal rivalry between provincial cities in the second and third centuries C.E. The term, 'Second Sophistic,' was first employed by Flavius Philostratus in the late second century C.E. The Second Sophistic became well known among the Greek and Roman elite for its improvisational style and display oratory. The origin of this oratory is attributed to the fourth century B.C.E. orator, Aeschines. However, it was not until the second and third centuries C.E. that the Second Sophistic movement began to appeal to wider audiences throughout the Empire; Philostratus even considers it to be a defining characteristic of Imperial Greece.²⁰ Sophistry became the instrument for revitalizing Hellenic identity by reviving ideals of the past. These orators declaimed in Fifth Century Attic Greek, an archaic dialect now only understood by the elite, and referenced historical events that exemplified the era when the Greek cities were most powerful.

¹⁸ Mitchell 1993, 218.

¹⁹ I am including an analysis of Second Sophistic oratory in order to show the evolution of rivalry media from the Julio-Claudian period to the Third Century CE, when Second Sophistic oratory was prevalent.

²⁰ Whitmarsh 2005, 5.

The Second Sophistic was a direct response to the political limitations placed on the provincial elite after the Roman annexation of its cities. Sophistic orators, who represented model elite citizens, were forced to balance their own civic identities with Roman citizenship and adapt to this newfound relationship with Rome.²¹ Although, this relationship can be distorted to give the appearance that Roman occupation caused tension within the provinces, this is most likely untrue. Rome's policy of, "divide and rule," allowed individual cities to maintain governance at a local level, while Rome oversaw large-scale decisions. This approach towards ruling the provinces eased tensions with Rome while simultaneously heightening rivalries between citizens, and consequently between cities. The elite became aware of the possibility to increase their status, not only in the eyes of their fellow citizens, but also in those of Rome. Sophistic orators competed in hopes of gaining recognition from Rome and the benefits that ensued from this relationship, such as citizenship for local elites and senatorial positions.²² This allowed the cities they represented to flourish through additional benefactions received from Rome. Furthermore, the cities themselves benefited from public contributions made by elites seeking to impress Rome; this in turn helped them to advance civic prestige. Second Sophistic orators were essential in drawing Rome's attention to their cities. Due to their intimate relationship with the emperor they were able to exert influence in the establishment of imperial cult.²³

²¹ Whitmarsh 2005, 10. Whitmarsh describes this relationship as the imperial power of Rome versus the colony of Greece.

²² Whitmarsh 2005, 11-12. Whitmarsh states that during the second century C.E. the number of Greek senators increased significantly.

²³ The appendix contains further analysis of the Second Sophistic, including texts from Philostratus and Aelius Aristides.

The right to construct an imperial cult temple was an extreme honor that many prominent provincial cities vied for. However, when discussing the establishment of imperial cults and temples, scholars tend to focus on cults sanctioned by Rome and often neglect cults created and funded by domestic, elite members of society. In the following chapter, I will discuss these two distinct types of cults, provincial and municipal, in order to demonstrate the Sebasteion's role as a municipal cult center at Aphrodisias from the Greek perspective and its importance although it was not directly sanctioned by Rome.

CHAPTER TWO

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL IMPERIAL CULTS

PROVINCIAL CULTS

Barbara Burrell does not utilize the term 'provincial' cult when discussing the establishment of imperial cults sanctioned by Rome. The distinction between provincial and municipal cults is discussed in Stephen Friesen's, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*. Burrell's publication has been criticized because in its discussion of imperial cult in Asia Minor it excludes a multitude of well-known cult centers.²⁴ Burrell, as indicated by the title of her book, focuses on neocorate temples and cults, meaning ones that are sanctioned by Rome. Therefore, it is correct to note that she does exclude a significant number of cults, however for the purposes of her research, it was not necessary to include them. The excluded cults can be classified as municipal cults and will be discussed in the subsequent section of this chapter. In this section, I will only refer to provincial cults which relied on Rome's approval to be established and represented the efforts of prominent Asia Minor cities.

If the right to establish a cult was granted to a city, it received tangible political advantages, since the city was placed in direct contact with the emperor.²⁵ Cities that were able to establish this relationship often played host to the emperor during his travels through the provinces, thus attracting attention to that specific

²⁴ Hendrick 2005, *BMCR*. Hendrick acknowledges that Burrell's assessment of cults is "provisional" and suited to the scope of her research.

²⁵ The right recognized by the emperor to establish a provincial cult was initiated by individual cities and the process of attaining such an honor is discussed in Barbara Burrell's, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*.

city. It was he, along with the senate, who decided whether an imperial cult should be established or not. Typically, the emperor would decline the request as a display of prudence. However, if sufficiently advantageous to him, permission would be granted. The tradition for a city to seek permission from the emperor to erect an imperial cult temple began during the Julio-Claudian period when the province of Asia sought to establish a cult to Octavian, but the honor was not given a title until the Flavian period. During the Flavian period the right to erect an imperial cult temple became called a *neokoria*.²⁶ It was through attaining *neokoriai* that a provincial city was able to attract attention not only from Rome, but also from its neighboring cities. In addition, the term *neokoria* is utilized by scholars when discussing rights to establish temples attained prior to the Flavian period.²⁷

After a provincial city earned a *neokoria* to establish the cult and erect a provincial imperial cult temple, the city was bestowed the title *neokoros*. Originally, this word was used to describe someone who cared for a temple and is often translated as, 'temple warden.'²⁸ Temple wardens, or *neokoroi*, were officials in charge of underwriting the costs associated with the upkeep of imperial cult shrines and often engaged in ritualistic activities on behalf of the city.²⁹ Aphrodisias never received a *neokoria* to establish a provincial cult, but a considerable number of prominent surrounding cities did and extant inscriptions exist that honor *neokoroi*. An inscription from Pergamum during the reign of Tiberius honors one such official:

²⁶ The terms *neokoria* and *neokoros* only apply to the imperial cult in Asia Minor.

²⁷ Burrell 2004, 17. Burrell sets the precedent for utilizing the term *neokoria* to discuss the right from the emperor to erect temples before it was given that official term during the Flavian era.

²⁸ Burrell 2001, 1-5.

²⁹ Friesen 2001, 30.

Οἱ νέοι ἐτίμησαν
 Γάιον Ἰούλιον Σακέρδωτα, τὸν
 νεωκόρον θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἱερέα
 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος καὶ 5
 Γυμνασίαρχον τῶν δωδεκάτων
 Σεβαστῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν πέντε
 γυμνασίων, ἀλείφοντα ἐγ λουτήρων
 δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων,
 προνοήσαντα τῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν 10
 [ἐφ]ήβων ἀγωγῆς, νόμους τε πατέρας
 [καὶ ἥ]θη κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον
 [ἀν]ανεωσάμενον.

The *neoi* honored Gaius Julius Sacerdos: the *neokoros* of goddess Rome and of god Augustus Caesar; priest of Tiberius Claudius Nero; and gymnasiarch of the 12th *Sebasta Romaia* for the five gymnasia, who supplied oil for the washings throughout the whole day at his own expense, who provided for their games [those of the *neoi*] and also for those of the *ephebes*, renewing the ancestral laws and customs according to what is most noble.³⁰

From this inscription we learn that the provincial temple was dedicated to the goddess Roma and the god Augustus Caesar and had one *neokoros*, a man named Gaius Julius Sacerdos, who provided supplies for the *Sebasta Romaia* games at his own expense.³¹

As the imperial cult became more popular this term was not only utilized to describe the citizen who cared for the temple, but also to identify the city that had erected the temple. Attaining *neokoriai* was an honor that promoted civic competition because it not only acknowledged the integral part Rome was playing in the city's development of the imperial cult, it also allowed that specific city to boast about its accomplishments. Provincial cities were concerned with the titles being earned by rivals, so the quest to attain more *neokoriai* than a rival city was

³⁰ *IGR* 4.454, Friesen 2001, 31.

³¹ Friesen 2001, 31.

constant.³² As a result, cities would utilize coinage and inscriptions to boast of their achievements to other cities.

The coins issued by each city usually depicted a temple accompanied by an inscription that informed the viewer of how many times that city earned the prestige of a *neokoria*. The temple to the goddess Roma and the god Augustus Caesar that is referred to in the inscription from Pergamum is also depicted on the city's coinage. The reverse of *BMCRE* 1.196, minted during the reign of Claudius, depicts Roma crowning Augustus while standing within a distyle temple (Fig. 1). The temples displayed on the coins are designed to be interpreted as loose representations of the actual temples. For example, temples illustrated with four to six columns may actually have been quite larger and a statue of the emperor depicted between columns would likely not have been there, but instead inside the temple at the back.³³ Therefore, the significance lies not in the accuracy of the temple's depiction, but in the fact that a temple appears at all. It is uncertain whether the citizens of the provinces would have actually been able to read the inscription on the coin, but they would have certainly been able to identify and comprehend the temple.

Tacitus corroborates the idea that cities initiated the requests to erect imperial cult temples and he also alludes to the competition between them.³⁴ In the *Annales*, Tacitus recounts the competition to establish a cult and how that decision was determined. The civic rivalry is manifest:

³² Price 1984, 64.

³³ Burrell 2004, 8.

³⁴ Burrell 2004, 38.

Sed Caesar quo famam averteret adesse frequens senatoī legatosque Asiae ambigentis quānam in civitate templum statueretur pluris per dies audivit. undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae. Tac. Ann. 4.55-56

But Caesar, so that he might divert criticism, frequently attended the senate and for several days listened to the deputies from Asia debating over which of their communities was to erect his temple. Eleven cities *competed*, with equal ambition but *disparate resources*. (emphasis mine)

Eleven cities were competing not only for Rome's attention, but also against one another for the right to erect the temple, and, more importantly, to boast about the honor of the *neokoria* being bestowed upon them. The term *viribus diversae* also implies that the resources of the competing cities must have been judged by Rome. If all cities competed with equal ambition, it was their resources that separated them from one another in Rome's eyes. Thus signifying that by attaining a *neokoria* a city could dually boast about receiving the honor and that their resources were more valued by Rome.

Although the title of *neokoros* would have only been bestowed on the city where the temple and cult were established, there is evidence that suggests that surrounding cities commissioned dedicatory statue bases to be set up within that city's temple precinct.³⁵ The Domitianic temple of the *Sebastoi* in Ephesus exemplifies this practice because of its preservation of thirteen extant dedicatory inscriptions on statue bases from multiple cities throughout the province of Asia Minor. The city of Aphrodisias commissioned a base there that provides an example of the formulaic format of the inscriptions:

Αὐτοκράτορι
θεῶι Καίσαρι Σε-
βαστῶι Οὐεσπασιάνῳ
ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκ[ου]

³⁵ Friesen 2001, 44.

Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος	5
ὁ φιλοκαῖσαρ Ἀφροδισιέων	
δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὢν καὶ αὐ-	
τόνομος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῇ τῶν Σεβασ-	
τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσίας	
ιδίᾳ χάριτι διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σε-	10
βαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς	
τὴν νεωκόρον Ἐφεσίων πό-	
λιν εὐνοίαν ἀνέστησαν	
ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἀριστίωνος	
Ἀρτεμδώρου τοῦ Καλλιστέ-	15
ως ἱερέως Πλούτωνος καὶ	
Κόρης καὶ νεωποιοῦ θεᾶς	
Ἀφροδείτης ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως	
τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου	
Φησείνου.	20

To Imperator Divus Caesar Vespasianus, in the proconsulship of M. Fulvius Gillo, the people of Aphrodisias, devoted to Caesar, being free and autonomous from time passed by the grace of the emperors, dedicated (this) in the provincial temple of the emperors at Ephesus, of their own grace, on account of their loyalty to the emperors and their goodwill to the city of Ephesus which is the temple-warden. The monument was supervised by Aristion, son of Artemidores the son of Callisteus, priest of Pluton and Kore, and a curator of the fabric of the temple of the goddess Aphrodite, in the year when Ti. Claudius Phesinus was high-priest of Asia.³⁶

The dedicatee, in this case the emperor Vesapasian, is named in the dative case and the date of the inscription is established by identifying the date of Gillo's proconsulship. In addition, the dedicatory city is named with an allusion to previous benefactions from Rome. The inscription concludes with the identification of the temple's overseer and his role in the cult.

I consider this interaction between cities that house provincial cult temples and surrounding cities that commission dedicatory statue bases to be placed therein a direct reflection of the rivalry present among Asia Minor cities. Although less-prominent cities could not compete with others that were granted *neokorai*, they could share in that city's success and bring acclaim to their own city. In addition,

³⁶ Reynolds 1982, 167. Document 42; cf. Reynolds, *A&R* 42.

smaller cities could hold competitive festivals which brought an influx of people and prestige to their city.

MUNICIPAL CULTS

The primary distinction between municipal and provincial cults was procedure.

Provincial cults relied heavily upon the authority of the emperor to establish centers for worship and this was not the case for municipal cults. The exact procedure for the establishment of a provincial cult is described by Friesen and it relied on the relationship between the provincial council and the Roman Senate. The council made its request to the Senate, which would then confer with the emperor, and a mutually beneficial decision for both parties would be achieved. The process was lengthy and required the provinces to navigate imperial politics in order to attain the right to establish their cults.

This procedure was not the same for municipal cults. These domestic cults were established as a result of local initiatives and relied primarily on funding from local sources, as opposed to aid from Rome. Whereas provincial cults were instituted at the behest of the provincial council and were reliant upon Rome's approval to be established, it was not even a requirement that the city send notification to Rome about a new municipal cult or cult temple.³⁷ Therefore, the absence of the necessity for direct contact with Rome, or the constant seeking of Rome's approval to initiate cult practices, presented an opportunity to smaller cities to partake in the imperial cult because the citizens themselves established the cults without Rome as overseer.

³⁷ Friesen 2001, 56-59.

Municipal imperial temples were constructed by small to medium-sized communities and were integrated into their already existing religious institutions.³⁸ Friesen considers municipal cults to be a way for imperial family members to be worshipped while simultaneously being associated with major municipal deities. He provides the example of an inscription from 89/90 C.E. which features the worship of Demeter at Ephesus combined with the Sebastoi. The inscription attests to the inclusion of the Sebastoi alongside the previously existing traditions for the Demeter Karpophoros and Themophoros festivals at Ephesus.³⁹

Another factor that distinguishes municipal cults from their provincial counterpart was that they were not restricted to temples for places of worship. Municipal cults could be found in major public spaces that promoted daily interaction between the cult and its followers. Citizens did not need to travel to a provincial cult temple in order to foster a religious relationship with the emperor and Rome. Scholars have asserted that imperial cult took place in various public places, such as the agora at Priene, the bouleuterion at Miletos, and the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis. Excavations at Priene and Miletos yielded evidence of altars deliberately positioned in conspicuous, open areas which attests to the acceptance and integration of cult worship into daily life. Fikret Yegül's extensive research on the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis focuses on a large, rectangular room apart from the exercise courtyard, which is consistent with other bath-gymnasia in Asia Minor. The room is sometimes referred to as an imperial hall or, "Kaisarsaal" because of its ornate architectural embellishments and the presence of

³⁸ Friesen 2001, 61.

³⁹ *IvE* 2.213; Friesen 2001, 63.

imperial sculpture. In addition to the bath complex at Sardis, there is evidence of possible *Kaisersäle* in Hierapolis, Ankyra, and Aphrodisias.⁴⁰ Yegül's belief that imperial cult took place in public imperial halls has been subject to criticism, specifically by Burrell.⁴¹ Burrell and other scholars consider imperial cult to have taken place in temple settings and not necessarily in the imperial halls that Yegül describes. Opposing scholars concede that these public halls contained imperial statuary, but that this is not an indication of imperial cult practice.

For the purposes of my research, I have considered both arguments and can agree with certain points within each. On the one hand, there is no veritable proof that imperial cult was present in public imperial halls. On the other hand, the presence and quantity of imperial statuary in the halls is an indication of the relationship between the Greek east and Rome and the integration of imperial iconography into provincial daily life.

Thus, the investigation of prominent imperial cult temple precincts in smaller cities where Rome's approval was not sought and buildings were funded by local elite citizens becomes the focus of my research. A case study on the Sebasteion complex at Aphrodisias will provide insight into the establishment and function of municipal imperial cult temple precincts, the relationship between the cult and its worshippers, and Aphrodisias' relationship with Rome and its neighboring cities.

⁴⁰ Yegül 1982, 8-9.

⁴¹ Cf. Burrell 2006, for Burrell's criticism of imperial halls as imperial cult centers; cf. Yegül 2008, 201, for his response to scholarly criticisms of his assessment.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SEBASTEION AT APHRODISIAS: A CASE STUDY

LOCAL HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

The city of Aphrodisias is located in SW Asia Minor in the region of Caria, east of the base of Mount Kadmos, modern Baba Dagı. The city itself is situated in the upper Maeander river basin while the site of the complex is located on the south side of the river in a valley, fertile from the runoff of a tributary stream, the Morsynus (Fig. 2-3). The city of Aphrodisias began as a rural region that underwent ‘intensive urbanization’ during the Roman period. Ratté considers Aphrodisias to be a prime example of one of the most prevalent characteristics of classical antiquity: the urbanization of rural areas via the integration of city life customs.⁴² Aphrodisias became the object of Roman urbanization, Romanization, to such an extent that by the Late Roman period it was the capital city of Caria.

The foundation of the city can be dated to the second or early first century B.C.E. as suggested by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. This evidence also reveals that during the city’s early history it was always named in conjunction with another city, Plarasa, and never by itself. The inscription states the People of Plarasa and Aphrodisias and the Cibratians and the Tabenoi.⁴³ *Demoi* seems to refer to Plarasa and Aphrodisias together while the single article *ó* indicates Cibrya and Tabae were distinct.⁴⁴ Two scholars, A. Chaniotis and J. Reynolds, who have

⁴² Ratté 2008, 10.

⁴³ *οἱ δῆμοι οἱ τε [?ν] | Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισ[ι] | έων καὶ ὁ Κιβυράτων καὶ ὁ Τα | βηνών.* Cf. Reynolds, *A&R* 1.

⁴⁴ Reger 2004, 163. Reger discusses this inscription, which I have taken from Reynolds, at length in order to justify the synoikism of the cities.

provided suggestions as to the reason for these repeated instances of joint naming, respectively, claim that it could have been either a sympolity or a synoikism. As a sympolity, Chaniotis argues that the cities were a 'combination of two *poleis* of which both maintained a measure of independence.' Meanwhile, Reynolds argues that as a synoikism it was not necessary that the two cities be *poleis*, but that it might have been an area 'in which two or more communities were united as a single civic entity.' Since it is impossible to know whether the two cities were in fact former *poleis*, Ratté surmises that the union of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians was initially a synoikism, but that Aphrodisias eventually became a prominent city that no longer required itself to be considered *vis á vis* Plarasa.

The city of Aphrodisias is also distinguished by its notably close relationship with Rome. The earliest literary reference to the city dates to the Late Republic and occurs in Appian's *Civil Wars* with a reference to Sulla and the dedication he made at the local sanctuary of Aphrodite.⁴⁵ The relationship between Rome and Aphrodisias flourished during the Julio-Claudian period when Augustus utilized Julius Caesar's claims that he had been a descendant of Aeneas, and thus of Venus, in order to gain favor with the people. Subsequently, Aphrodisias utilized its longstanding, local patron deity, Aphrodite, in order to gain favor with Rome by appealing to the Julian's dynastic claims to the goddess. In doing so, Smith states, "the city acquired free and allied status that made it independent of the Roman province of Asia."⁴⁶ Aphrodisias was required to pay less taxes and prospered through benefactions from Rome. As a result of this sudden prosperity, Smith describes Aphrodisias as a

⁴⁵ I rely on Ratté 2008, 10-11 for the information in the two paragraphs preceding the citation.

⁴⁶ Smith 1987, 90.

“new-comer” among cities that “articulated civic competition by the establishment of buildings and sculptured monuments.”⁴⁷ Lastly, Smith notes that Aphrodisias was “deeply conscious” that its emergence as a city which could potentially rival current prominent cities in Asia Minor was in part due to Julio-Claudian benefactions, and that the construction of the Sebasteion was a key feature of the programmatic, architectural response to this aid.

EXCAVATION HISTORY

Excavations at Aphrodisias began in 1961 by New York University. Preliminary excavations yielded evidence of two prehistoric settlement mounds that date from 6,000 B.C.E. to the end of the Bronze Age. Subsequent pottery findings from the 7th and early 6th centuries provide evidence for continual occupation of the mounds and the establishment of an early sanctuary. Between 1961 and 1990 the emphasis of the excavations shifted focus from the prehistoric mounds to the center of the town, which had been established around the previous settlement mounds. From the late 1st century B.C.E. to the early 3rd century C.E. the town center became the focus for multiple building projects. Within this period of time the following monuments were constructed: the Temple and sanctuary of Aphrodite; two large public squares with surrounding civic and sacred buildings, among which were included the Sebasteion, Civil Basilica, and Bouleuterion; and the Theater.⁴⁸

During ongoing excavations at Aphrodisias in 1979, Prof. K. T. Erim discovered a large temple and sanctuary complex in the center of the city, east of the Agora that was dedicated to Aphrodite and the *Theoi Sebastoi*, which would have

⁴⁷ Smith 1987, 90

⁴⁸ Ratté 2008, 11.

been a reference to the Julio-Claudian emperors of the early 1st century C.E. Extant inscriptions on the architraves of the buildings and images of the emperors Augustus, Claudius, and Nero have confirmed a date belonging to the Julio-Claudian period and construction on the complex most likely began during the reign of Tiberius and was completed under Nero.⁴⁹ Architrave dedications also indicate that two prominent Aphrodisian families funded the entire project. Lastly, another Aphrodisian inscription refers to the city having a *Sebasteios naos*.⁵⁰ Although it is uncertain, it seems likely that the complex at the focus of this study was the city's Sebasteion, especially because of its temple's dedication to the *Theoi Sebastoi*.

Subsequent excavations have focused on the documentation and conservation of the Sebasteion's remains, which consist of several thousand fragments of sculptures and architectural elements. New York University has made significant progress regarding the anastylosis of the porticoes and propylon (Fig. 4).

THE SITE

The Late Hellenistic civic center of Aphrodisias originally consisted of three buildings: the Temple, the main Agora with adjoining Bouleuterion, and the Theater (Fig. 5a). During the Early Imperial period, the Sebasteion complex was added to the building program and is located east of the Agora (Fig. 5b). The complex was accessible from a major street that ran north to south from the Theater to the Temple of Aphrodite and is oriented from east to west.⁵¹ It consists of five architectural elements in a rectangular formation: a paved courtyard, two portico-

⁴⁹ This paragraph draws heavily from Smith (1987) 88-90.

⁵⁰ *CIG* 2839.

⁵¹ Friesen 2001, 81; Smith 1987, 92.

like structures, a propylon, and a temple (Fig. 6).⁵² The complex was entered at the west through the Propylon, the complex's monumental two-storey entranceway. After the Propylon, the street continued into a long paved area (c. 14 x 90 m) that was flanked by three-storey porticoes which contained relief panels on the upper two storeys (Fig. 7). The first storey of the porticoes consisted of a series of rooms that were three intercolumniations wide. Finally, on the east end beyond the porticoes was a flight of steps that led up to the temple.

ARCHITECTURE

The most striking feature of the Sebasteion's architecture is both its conflation of Greek and Roman architectural styles and its own innovative features. Smith explains that the examples of Roman influence are found not in the details of the architecture, but in the basic layout and conception of the complex. The Sebasteion adopts the already established practice of incorporating an axially placed temple within a colonnaded court. However, the complex is unique because it features a narrowed portico area that seems more like a processional way than an open colonnade.⁵³ The three-storied porticoes are unique in their elevation and columnar orders. The porticoes are supported by Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders which correspond to the first, second, and third storeys. There is a difference between the porticoes with respect to their height and intercolumnar width. The North Portico has a single intercolumnar width for its relief panels, while the South Portico has wider central intercolumniations. Therefore, the central relief panels of the South Portico are flanked by narrower side panels (Fig. 8).

⁵² Friesen 2001, 81.

⁵³ I rely heavily on Smith 1987, 92-93 for the analysis of the Sebasteion's architecture.

The temple lies at the end of the portico colonnade so that after entering through the propylon, the viewer's line of vision is funneled directly to the temple. This is in contrast to concurrent sanctuaries of the Greek East because the temple was usually positioned in a middle area, which allowed for movement completely around the temple. There is a distinct resemblance between the colonnaded porticoes of the Sebasteion and the Roman fora of Caesar and Augustus, which corroborate the idea of architectural Romanization at Aphrodisias. Both fora had axially placed temples at the end of flanking porticoes. Smith discusses the similarities between the Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum in Rome and the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (Fig. 9).⁵⁴ Like the Sebasteion, they both have axially placed temples at the end of a double-porticoed colonnade. It seems plausible that the previously constructed Imperial fora would have provided inspiration to Aphrodisian architects who may have traveled to Rome.

There is additional evidence of Roman architectural influence in other Asia Minor cities during the Julio-Claudian period, specifically in Psidian Antioch, which was a Roman colony established in the Augustan period. The monument is identified as the Temple of Augustus and consists of a two-storeyed portico, Doric below and Ionic above, with an axially placed temple at the end of the colonnade (Fig. 10). The Roman-style temple stood on a podium, but its decorative features were distinctly Hellenistic and included acanthus scrollwork and garlands (Fig. 11).⁵⁵ This monument would have been a predecessor to the Sebasteion and it is clear that its style is emulated, but the latter complex incorporates a significant

⁵⁴ Smith 1987, 92-93 for discussion of Sebasteion architecture.

⁵⁵ Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 390.

stylistic innovation. Both monuments contain a two-storeyed portico constructed with a Doric order below and an Ionic order above, but the Sebasteion includes a third storey of Corinthian columns. The addition of a third storey is unique to the Sebasteion and the complex was the first to utilize all three columnar orders in its architecture in Asia Minor. The technique of layering orders had been previously utilized at Rome and can be seen in architecture of the Theater of Marcellus.⁵⁶ The Theater's façade consisted of three storeys of superimposed columns. Only the lower two storeys are extant and reveal that they were Doric and Ionic, respectively. The columnar order of the third storey is unknown, but scholars believe it to have been a plain attic-style column as opposed to Corinthian.⁵⁷

The two remaining architectural structures, the Propylon and the Temple, exhibit Roman influences as well. The Propylon is a two-storeyed, monumental gateway with an aediculated façade that led into the double porticoed colonnade. The two storeys consisted of an Ionic order below and a Corinthian order above. Multiple statues of the Imperial family were housed in the recesses of the aediculated façade, among which were: Agrippina Maior, Germanicus, Atia, Livia, Nero, and Lucius and Drusus.⁵⁸ These Imperial images would have greeted the viewer prior to entering the porticoes and set the stage for the subsequent Imperial imagery that would continue throughout the colonnade. The Temple at the east end of the porticoes is the least excavated monument, but there is certainty that it

⁵⁶ Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 187.

⁵⁷ Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 188. The authors consider the third storey order to be plain attic and cite the amphitheatre at Pola, Istria to be the precedent. They also consider the sanctuaries at Praeneste and Tivoli to have set the precedent for the Theater's architectural features.

⁵⁸ Friesen 2001, 81.

adhered to Roman-style podium temples and had a façade of six Corinthian columns.⁵⁹

Therefore, the layout of the complex as a whole is distinctly Roman, however, there are native Greek elements in the ornamentation of monuments. The tops of the third storey porticoes were adorned with acanthus style acroteria, which emulate the adornments of past Hellenistic monuments (Fig. 12). In addition, the incorporation of various Nike figures on the reliefs mimic the use of Nike statues seen on the *scaenae frons* of the Theater, which was previously constructed during the Late Republic under the patron Zoilos.⁶⁰

SCULPTURE

If the Sebasteion is indeed a response to the relative autonomy and tax exemption given to Aphrodisias from the Julio-Claudian emperors, then the message behind its sculptural program is to spotlight the relationship between the two cities. The sculptural display began on the propylon with the imperial statues situated in its aedicated façade, which I have discussed above, and continued as the viewer entered the interior court with nothing short of an explosion of sculpted images on opposing three storeyed porticoes. The intercolumnar spaces between columns were filled with relief panels for the entire length of the portico façades, but only on the upper two storeys. The south portico had forty-five intercolumniations and contained ninety panels and the north portico, slightly longer, contained fifty panels, therefore there would have been a total of one hundred and ninety high-relief panels in the complex, the largest known display of sculptures of this kind in the

⁵⁹ Smith 1987, 94; Gros 1996, 127-130.

⁶⁰ Erim and Smith 1991, 79.

Roman empire.⁶¹ Three overall themes are represented on the panels: the Roman Empire, the Greek world within it, and the imperial family.⁶² In addition, a four-part plan corresponded to the registers of the porticoes: allegories above and *ethne* below on the north portico, and emperors and gods above and mythology below on the south portico.

North Portico

The north portico is the least well preserved of the two porticoes. There are only two extant panels and inscribed bases that correspond to the third storey and six panels and sixteen inscribed bases for the second storey. The third storey panels displayed personifications of time and place via the use of allegorical figures. The two third-storey panels and inscribed bases present personifications of Day and Ocean (Hemera and Okeanos) and were found together at the east end of the portico. Day is personified as a draped female and Ocean is a naked, bearded male (Fig. 13). Smith suggests that the evidence of these two personifications indicates that there should have been other allegorical figures such as Night and Earth that would have established a universal setting for the people and places depicted in the corresponding second storey reliefs.

Ethne Series

The second storey housed the *ethne*, or foreign peoples, series, which was comprised of “single statuesque figures in high relief standing on inscribed bases.”⁶³ The bases were similar to statue bases and Smith believes they were utilized to

⁶¹ Smith 1988, 51.

⁶² Smith 1987, 95.

⁶³ Smith 1988, 51-53 provides the description for the North Portico.

mimic a line of statues in a colonnade.⁶⁴ The bases, high-relief pedestals, were divided into two sections. The lower sections were often decorated with masks and garlands, while the upper sections were inscribed with the names of the territories (Fig. 14).⁶⁵ The *ethne* were depicted as personifications of standing, draped women (Fig. 15). Each relief contained one woman/*ethnos* who was differentiated from surrounding *ethne* by drapery style and pose, which are distinctly Greek. The *ethne* statues are draped in traditional *chitons* and *himations*, which were both common apparel for Greek women.

The exact placement of each *ethnos* is unknown. However, there is evidence that suggests that the eastern provinces were positioned toward the east end of the complex and western provinces toward the west end based on the find spots for the panels. Thus, this indicates that there may have been deliberate geographical positioning regarding the reliefs. In terms of the significance of the *ethne* reliefs, Reynolds and Smith agree that the peoples and places illustrate the various victories of Augustus and that the personified figures represent the various constituents of the empire: “the near-equal partners to the conquered subjects and neighbors.”⁶⁶ However, the Greek populations personified in the *ethne* series are visually different from the personifications of western provinces, such as Britannia and Armenia which are shown in scenes of violent conquest, seen on the South Portico reliefs. The *ethne* are depicted as unharmed, free-standing statues. Alcock interprets this to signify that the Greeks were meant to be comprehended as part of the sculptural

⁶⁴ Smith 1988, 51-53.

⁶⁵ Cf. Smith (1988, 56-57) for complete list of *ethne* inscriptions citing the name of the province or island.

⁶⁶ Smith 1988, 57-59.

program of the Sebasteion, but not in the same way as the more 'vulnerable' provinces.⁶⁷

In addition, although depicted in an unambiguously Greek manner, the precedent for the north portico's *ethne* series may have been the *Porticus ad Nationes* set up by Augustus.⁶⁸ There are only textual references to the portico, but they indicate that Augustus established a gallery that housed statues representing all nations.⁶⁹ The location and size are unknown, but Richardson asserts that the statuary group would have been similar to the statues located on the exterior of the cavea on the Theater of Pompey.⁷⁰ Therefore, the north portico's *ethne* series is Roman in conception and design, but stylistically executed in a Hellenistic fashion.

South Portico

There are at least seventy extant complete or fragmentary panels from the south portico. The theme of Roman emperors and the Greek world is manifest throughout its upper two registers. The third storey depicts reliefs of emperors, Olympian gods, and allegories; in the second storey there is a series of scenes that pertain to Greek mythology. Thirty of the original forty-five panels remain from the myth register, making it the most well preserved relief section. Smith asserts that the exact positioning of the myth panels is unknown, but that the placement of the panels pertaining to the first three rooms on the east end and the last three rooms on the west end can be ascertained with a fair amount of confidence. In addition, he

⁶⁷ Alcock 2002, 93.

⁶⁸ Smith 1988, 71.

⁶⁹ Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.721; Plin. *HN* 36.39.

⁷⁰ Richardson 1992, 316; Suet. *Nero* 46.1; Rehak 2006, 18 uses the term 'museum of culture' to describe the presence of the various *nationes* in Pompey's Theater. This phrase can be adequately applied to the *ethne* series as well, since it is a display of Hellenic culture.

considers the arrangement of these panels to be neither 'haphazard nor systematically connected,' but that the nature of the program is apparent.

The east end of the portico, which is the section closest to the propylon, began with scenes that pertained to traditional Greek mythology. There are scenes that depict Herakles and a boar, Herakles and Prometheus, and a child Dionysos with nymphs (Figs. 16-18). These reliefs are succeeded by standard hunting scenes which include depictions of heroes with dogs and a scene of Meleager and a boar (Fig. 19-20). The content of the reliefs change at the west end of the portico, which was the side closest to the Temple of Aphrodite. The relief panels here depict Aphrodite with baby Eros, Aeneas' flight from Troy, and Poseidon (Figs. 21-23). Smith states that although depictions of Aeneas' flight were well-known during this time period, the Aphrodisians made a 'local' addition to the relief by adding an 'escorting Aphrodite' in the background and this was 'surely' not the deceased Creusa. The inclusion of a relief depicting Poseidon with a ship and a dolphin, and a standing, cloaked male figure, may seem out of place. However, Smith entertains the idea that it may represent Aeneas' triumph over land and sea and his arrival in Italy.⁷¹ The inclusion of Aeneas connects the city of Aphrodisias with the theme of the descent of the Julian *gens* from the mythological hero and this is reaffirmed through Aphrodite as the city's patron deity.

It appears as if the placement of traditional Greek mythological scenes at the entrance of the portico and scenes prevalent to Roman mythology closest to the temple were deliberate. The viewer entering the complex would immediately

⁷¹ The information in the above three paragraphs relies heavily on Smith 1990, 95-97.

recognize scenes depicting traditional heroes such as Herakles. As the viewer continues the reliefs change from Greek historical scenes to Roman ideology contemporary to the period. This gradual change in iconography and ideology may reflect Aphrodisias' own transformation from the ongoing effects of Romanization.

In the third storey of the south portico, three main themes were depicted on the reliefs: the divine emperors, imperial victory, and the gods. The Olympian gods were displayed as single, statue-like figures and there were also various panels of winged Nikes that resemble the Nike theme present at the Theater complex. The various Nikes and the imperial reliefs reinforce the prevalent theme of conquest and victory present on the third register. There are eleven extant panels depicting imperial scenes, within which is a mixture of 'quiet, repose' compositions and scenes of violent conquest.⁷²

Augustus with Land and Sea

The Augustus panels predominantly show the emperor standing in a classical *contraposto* pose, except for one panel where he is shown striding forward above Land and Sea (Fig. 24). The panel has been recomposed from four main fragments, whose find-spots indicate that the relief would have been positioned over rooms nine or ten. Augustus is depicted nude, as are all the subsequent emperors, and his facial features indicate that Aphrodisian sculptors had a certain level of familiarity with imperial portraiture. The physiognomy of Augustus is clearly modeled from standard Roman imperial relief examples. However, the fringe locks on the emperor's forehead bear more resemblance to Tiberius' and Claudius' portrait

⁷² Smith 1987, 97-100 discusses the South Portico relief sequence.

styles and consequently this relief is sometimes identified as *Claudius with Land and Sea*. The panel depicts the emperor striding forward while receiving the gift of a cornucopia from Land and a steering oar from Sea. The billowy drapery around Augustus' head originates from a cloak lying on his right arm and is a Hellenistic motif used to present 'elegant motion.'⁷³ Augustus' movement is indicative of his active participation in the allegory and would not have been seen in Roman portraiture, nor would he have been depicted nude. Augustus' relationship to Land and Sea represent the notion of prosperity under his rule that will bring his empire peace. Smith asserts that this theme is also present on the Tellus panel of the Ara Pacis, but in this representation the emperor is not an active participant in the allegory.⁷⁴

The Tellus panel depicts a central woman who commands the attention of the viewer, just as Augustus on the *Land and Sea* panel. The lap of the woman on the Tellus panel is filled with fruitful items, such as pomegranates and grapes, which are obvious references to prosperity and fertility, and ultimately indicate peace. The central woman is flanked by two women whose only garment is a mantle that rises to form a billowy veil around their heads in the exact same manner that Augustus' head is framed by his billowing drapery. The central woman on the Tellus panel has power over the two flanking women, much like Augustus over Land and Sea. Rehak considers these depictions to be consistent with the common artistic trope of human

⁷³ Smith 1987, 105. Smith cites Hellenistic a precedent for this motif, Cybele-Rhea and companion on the S. frieze of the Pergamon Great Altar.

⁷⁴ Smith 1987, 106.

dominance over cosmic divisions.⁷⁵ The emperor's participation in the relief panel on the Sebasteion and the use of billowy drapery around his nude figure are Hellenistic contributions. Although the flanking females on the Tellus panel are depicted with similar billowy drapery, the fact that the emperor is depicted this way denotes the Hellenistic addition. Therefore, the *Augustus with Land and Sea* panel provides an example of the fusion of local Hellenistic influence with Roman themes.

Claudius and Britannia; Nero and Armenia

Two south portico reliefs of the emperors Claudius and Nero depict scenes of violent conquest over personified provinces. Claudius is shown standing over Britannia as he grabs her hair to deliver the final blow (Fig. 25). The reconstructed panel is made up of twelve main fragments and the find-spot indicates that it may have been placed above room three. An inscribed base found beside the fragments of the panel confirms that it is indeed Claudius and Britannia. Britannia is shown with one breast exposed and wears a short *chiton* belted at the waist and short boots. The sculptor depicts her "barbarianess" through her hairstyle; it is shown unbound and wavy as it falls over her shoulders. Claudius is shown wearing a helmet, cloak, and baldric with scabbard. The helmet seems to represent the 'ideal' Corinthian style helmet of the Roman period, while the cloak appears more similar to the Greek *chlamys* than the Roman *paludamentum*.⁷⁶ Thus, there is a clear conflation of Greek and Roman apparel styles present on a single relief.

⁷⁵ Rehak 2006, 110 discusses the Tellus panel at length and provides a comparison to the *Augustus with Land and Sea* panel.

⁷⁶ Smith 1987, 116.

The relief displaying Nero and Armenia depicts the emperor standing behind the provincial personification, holding her slumped body with his hands (Fig. 26). The panel is made up of two main fragments that were found at the front of room three and the inscribed base naming Nero and Armenia was found between rooms two and three. Nero is shown wearing a short cloak fastened by a brooch and a baldric with an empty scabbard. He has an ideal, muscled torso that bends forward in order to sustain Armenia's weight. Armenia is depicted as a barbarian with wavy, unkempt hair falling down from her Phrygian cap. She wears short boots and a cloak that is clasped over her right shoulder which fails to cover her naked body. The composition of the panel is similar to Hellenistic, pyramidal, two-figure groups like the Achilles and Penthesilea group which implies that this may be an adaption of that mythological group to a Roman allegory (Fig. 28).⁷⁷ In addition, Nero holds Armenia under her arms in the same way that Achilles lifts Penthesilea in the reconstructed drawing of the sculpture group.

Both of these panels contain striking Hellenistic elements reflected in the way the emperors and provinces are depicted and the overall composition of the panels. Typically, Roman imperial ideology from the Julio-Claudian period did not depict provinces or peoples being violently defeated; it chose to display the emperor's clemency rather than violence. Although it is clear that neither emperor will kill the provincial personifications, the imagery evokes emotion especially when seen through the eyes of the people in a city subordinate to conquering Rome.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Smith 1987, 119; Bieber 1961, 79 and fig. 279. Bieber discusses the layout of the Achilles and Penthesilea group and provides images.

⁷⁸ Smith 1987, 117.

The programmatic message present within the imperial reliefs of the south portico's third storey is indicative of the Greek perspective on the predicament with Rome. Aphrodisias' awareness of Rome's conquests is apparent, but the city reinterprets that anxiety by creating a balance between Roman and Greek iconography and ideology. The extant reliefs from the Sebasteion become essential in facilitating our understanding of the way Greek cities responded to Roman authority. The presence of inscribed bases denoting the names of the emperors and conquered provinces indicates that 'audience familiarity' was a concern and, although the two prominent families who funded the Sebasteion might have understood Roman Imperial iconography, perhaps the common Aphrodisian citizen did not.⁷⁹ The Sebasteion provided the viewer with a visual journey through a monument that is both a testament to the conquering power of Rome and a reassertion of historical Hellenic identity.

EPIGRAPHY

The inscriptions found at Aphrodisias that pertain to the Sebasteion complex provide information about the programmatic character of its prominent architectural structures, specifically the propylon and the double-porticoed colonnade.⁸⁰ In addition, the inscriptions provide insight into how the city's building projects were funded and highlight two of Aphrodisias' most prominent families. The Sebasteion is unique because nearly all inscriptions associated with the imperial cult complex are preserved. Therefore, it is remarkable in that

⁷⁹ Alcock 2002, 91.

⁸⁰ Friesen 2001, 81.

epigraphic evidence is extant on inscribed statute bases, building walls, and civic coinage.

The Sebasteion provides an example of two families working together to fund a monumental complex. We know from the architrave inscriptions that one family dedicated the propylon and the north portico and the other the temple and south portico.⁸¹ The dedicatory inscriptions follow a general format citing a dedication to Aphrodite first, then the Emperor, and finally the People. After this the families making the dedication are named. There are few instances in the complex where the initial dedication to Aphrodite is not present and usually occurs if the dedication concerns the reconstruction of a previously dedicated monument. The inscription from the Propylon and North Portico indicate it was dedicated by two brothers, Eusebes and Menander, together with Eusebes' wife Apphias to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi,, and the Demos'.⁸² There is also evidence of another dedicatory inscription from the architrave blocks of the north portico by Apphias, her daughter Tata, and her grandsons, Eusebes and Menander, that refer to the restoration of the buildings after an earthquake. Note that both inscriptions offer dedications to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos':

[?Ἀφροδίτῃ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ]
star Εὐσέβης φιλό[πατρις καὶ Μέναν]ν. δρος οἱ Μ
ενάν[δρου τοῦ Εὐνί]κου [καὶ Ἀπ]
φίας Μενάν[δρου]γυνὴ Εὐσε[βοῦς] stop ἀνέθη[κ]ανέκτω
νιδ[ίων] star ὑπὸ σεισ[μῶ]ν δ[ὲ] κατενεχθέντα καὶ ἀχρηω]θέν
[τ]α πά[λ]ιν ἐκ τῶν ἰ
δίων stop Ἀπφίας ν. σὺν
καὶ Τάτῃ τῇ θυγα
τρὶν. καὶ Μενάνδρῳ

⁸¹ Smith 1987, 90.

⁸² Smith 1987, 90. Smith provides the English translation for this inscription, which was first published by J. Reynolds; cf. Reynolds, *Pippidi*, n. 12.

κ[α]ὶ Εὐσεβεῖ τοῖς ἐγ
γόνοις τελέσασα
ἀποκαθέστησεν vac.⁸³

[For Aphrodite, for the gods Augusti Olympians, for the People]: Eusebes (entitled) lover of his country, and Menandros, the sons of Menandros the son of Eunikos and Apphias daughter of Menandros, [wife of] Eusebes set (this) up at their own expense. After it was thrown down and made useless by earthquakes, again at their own expense Apphias completed and set it up again, in company with Tata, her daughter, and Menandros and Eusebes her grandsons.⁸⁴

The project of funding and dedicating the temple and south portico was also undertaken by two brothers, Diogenes and Attalus, but Attalus' wife Attalis Apphion took on the responsibility after the death of her husband during the planning stage.⁸⁵ There are two extant dedicatory inscriptions from the south portico that name this family, one indicates that the building was restored by the son of Diogenes in accordance to what his father had promised and is also dedicated to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos':

Ἀφροδίτῃ star θε(---)ι Σεβαστ
(---) <Τιβερ>ίωι Κλαυδίωι Κ
[αί]σαρι star τῶι Δήμωι dolphin
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος
Διογένης φιλοπολίτης
ᾧ ἐπηγγείλατο
vac. Διογένης ὁ πατὴρ
[ρ α]ὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀτταλῖς v.
καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀττάλ
ου τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μέρος v. ἀποκα [θ]έστησεν vac.

For Aphrodite, for the God (?Goddess) Augustus (?Augusta), for Tiberius Claudius Caesar, for the People, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, friend of the citizens, restored what Diogenes his father promised, and Attalis, and also on behalf of his uncle Attalos his part.⁸⁶

The second inscription is dedicated by Attalis Apphion and is dedicated to the emperor Tiberius and the empress Livia:

[· ? · Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβ]ερίω Καίσαρι θε[οῦ Σεβα]στο[ῦ ὑ]ίῳ Σεβαστῶι καὶ

⁸³ For all subsequent inscriptions, the line breaks coincide with Reynolds' recording and will not be numbered in multiples of five.

⁸⁴ Reynolds *et al.*, *IAPH* 2007, n. 9.1.

⁸⁵ Smith 1987, 90.

⁸⁶ Reynolds *et al.*, *IAPH* 2007, n. 9.25

Ἰουλῖαι Σεβαστῇ [ι νέαι] Δημητρὶ [· ? ·]
 [· ? · Ἀτ]ταλῖς Μενεκρ[άτους Ἀ]πφιο[ν · c. 12 · ὑπὲρ] Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μ[ενάνδρ]ου
 τοῦ ΑΝ[· ? ·]
 [· ? ·] τὸν νάον καὶ τ[ὸν βῶμ]ον [· c. 15 ·] vac. ὑπὲρ τοῦ [· c. 5 ·]ου vac. [· ? ·] 9.
 [· ? ·] for the Emperor Tib[er]ius Caesar [Augustus, son] of the god Augustus, and for Julia
 Augusta, the new Demeter [. . .
 2 . . .] Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menekrates [. . . ? . . .] on behalf of Attalos, son of
 Menandros, ? her [husband . . .
 3 . . .] the temple and ? the [altar . . . ? . . .] on behalf of [. . .⁸⁷

The above inscriptions illustrate the formulaic nature of dedicatory inscriptions on the Sebasteion during the Julio-Claudian era. Each inscription began with a dedication to Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi and then to the ‘people’. There is a distinct hierarchy associated with the order in which dedicatee’s are named. The imperial family is often placed in a subordinate position to local protectorate deities, since it is named second in the dedication. Burrell is skeptical that the formula of “patron deity, emperor, and people” has anything to do with imperial cult or that it places the emperor in a subordinate position to patron deities.⁸⁸ However, Burrell investigates provincial cults where the emperor is always the intended object of the cult.⁸⁹

In addition to the dedicatory inscriptions set up by the aforementioned Aphrodisian families commemorating the establishment of the Sebasteion, there are also inscriptions pertaining to individual statue bases on the propylon and the relief bases of the porticoes. The inscriptions on the relief bases of the statues on the propylon honor various members of the imperial family, as well as, the progenitors of the Julian family, Aphrodite and Aeneas:

Ἀφροδίτην

⁸⁷ Reynolds *et al.*, *IAph 2007*, n. 9.112.

⁸⁸ Burrell 2004, 31-2, 69.

⁸⁹ Hendrick 2005, *BMCR*.

Προμήτορα
ν. θεῶν ν.
Σεβαστῶν

Statue of) Aphrodite, the first mother of the gods, the Augusti.⁹⁰

vacat Αἰνῆ[αν ? vacat]
vacat Ἀνχίσι[ου] ? vacat] 9.35

(Statue of) Aeneas, son of Anchises.⁹¹

The statue base inscriptions were kept basic, only stating the name of the person being honored with the occasional reference to the his or her paternal family member. For example, Agrippina is named in conjunction with her father Germanicus Caesar:

Ἀγριππῖναν Γε[ρμα]-
νικοῦ Καίσαρος]
vac. θυγατέρ[α 9.32

(Statue of) Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus Caesar.⁹²

As I have stated above, the Sebasteion inscriptions relayed information about the programmatic character of the complex. This suggests that the two patron families of the Sebasteion utilized the inscriptions to reiterate the message of Aphrodisias' relationship with Rome to viewers of the complex. The building inscriptions of the Sebasteion convey that the complex was entirely funded by local families, with no assistance from Rome or provincial governors. There was no direct imperial involvement. The names of the complex's patrons and the names of imperial family members were inscribed in close proximity to each other so that prominent Aphrodisians could be acknowledged at the same time as members of the Roman elite. Thus allowing the message behind the Sebasteion's epigraphic and

⁹⁰ Reynolds *et al.*, *IAph 2007*, n. 9.34.

⁹¹ Reynolds *et al.*, *IAph 2007*, n. 9.35.

⁹² Reynolds *et al.*, *IAph 2007*, n. 9.32

sculptural program to be reaffirmed to the viewer beginning at the complex's entrance through the propylon and as they continued down the colonnade.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

The establishment of imperial cult in Asia Minor redefined the manner in which provincial cities interacted with Rome. The evolution from Hellenistic ruler cults to provincial and municipal cults is indicative of the change the provinces underwent as a consequence of Imperial Romanization. The imperial cult allowed the emperor to become part of the religious institution of provincial citizens, while allowing them to maintain a certain level of religious autonomy. The development of two distinct cults, provincial and municipal, further reaffirmed the integration of the emperor into daily civic life. Provincial cult and its reliance upon the authority of the emperor and the Roman Senate to establish cult centers and temples became the focus of previous scholarship because of the quantity and accessibility of extant material. In addition, research on provincial cults place the focus on Rome's interaction with the provinces. Through the investigation of municipal cults, Rome and the provinces can be analyzed from the Greek perspective. However, research on municipal cult centers is considerably more problematic due to the fact that cults were established by unknown local citizens, without the authority of Rome, and there is scant evidence to corroborate their existence. It is for this reason that an analysis of the Sebasteion complex has proven invaluable. The Sebasteion complex is the perfect case study because of its quantity of extant material. The complex provides insight into provincial ideology conveyed by municipal cults and resolves questions regarding how these cults were funded.

The Sebasteion at Aphrodisias is both indicative of the way imperial cult was

manifest at the local level and of the complex relationship between a medium-sized provincial city and Rome. Hellenic civic identity was maintained under Roman rule by the promotion of traditional history and iconography. Within each of the areas analyzed, Aphrodisias drew in the attention of Rome while carefully balancing its own civic heritage with responses to Roman ideology. In addition, a complex of such magnitude that promoted Greek and Roman ideology would have drawn attention from surrounding cities and brought prestige to the city of Aphrodisias. Whether these methods were utilized more for communication with Rome or to incite responses from nearby provincial cities is unknown.

The intended audience for the Sebasteion's program is complex issue. To local Aphrodisians, the Sebasteion promotes confidence in the city's relationship with Rome and preserves Hellenic identity. The emperor and imperial delegates would have approved of Aphrodisias' use of imperial iconography to proclaim its allegiance to Rome and to gain the attention of rival cities. While, provincial localities may have considered the synthesis of Greek and Roman styles a possible way for Aphrodisias to boast about its relationship with Rome, indicating that the Sebasteion's architecture, sculpture and epigraphy were exploited with the intention of surpassing competing cities. Rome's presence as the distant overseer provided the idiom for the expression of rivalries between surrounding cities and the Sebasteion's overt display of its amicable relationship with Rome is apparent.

The explicit amalgamation of Greek and Roman architectural styles and sculpture combine to create an innovative complex unlike any other in the Greek east. The architecture of the Sebasteion has distinct Roman features, such as its

axially positioned temple and porticoed colonnade, but it also features Hellenic inspired ornamentation and the addition of a Corinthian order third storey. These architectural additions make the Sebasteion a uniquely Aphrodisian creation that is adapted and reinvented from previous architectural monuments. The sculpture of the Sebasteion provides the most insight into the dialectic between Rome and Aphrodisias. There is an intricate balance between the promotion of the city's knowledge of Imperial portraiture and mythology and the retention of Hellenic civic identity. The relief panels of the Sebasteion manage to pay homage to Rome as a conquering power and display its past accomplishments, while simultaneously promoting Hellenic history through mythological imagery. The decision to create an *ethne* series that portrays the eastern provinces unharmed as opposed to the violent representations of Britannia and Armenia indicate that Aphrodisias considered its relationship with Rome to be civil, but still aware of the power of its overseer. This awareness is evidenced by the inclusion of the imperial family alongside Aphrodisias' protectorate deity in the Sebasteion's dedicatory inscriptions. There are numerous extant formulaic inscriptions that are essential toward understanding how a municipal cult was established and financed. In addition, these inscriptions promote the fact that the Sebasteion was a complex funded solely by Aphrodisian families and entirely independent of Rome.

To conclude, the Sebasteion is essential for understanding the way municipal cults functioned in Asia Minor. Although there was no direct involvement from Rome, the city has integrated Roman Imperial ideology into its architectural and sculptural program. Dedicatory inscriptions illustrate that the emperor was

accepted into civic religion and cited alongside patron deities. The quantity of already excavated material from the Sebasteion, and the progress of current excavations and anastyloses, will continue to illustrate the importance and uniqueness of this municipal cult complex.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SECOND SOPHISTIC TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The competition between cities as expressed through sophistic orators and the benefits secured by them, is evident in Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum*.

Οἰκιστὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀλαζὼν ἔπαινος, ἀλλὰ
δικαιότατός τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος. (VS 592-593)

"To say that Aristides was founder of Smyrna is no braggart acclaim but most just and most true."

The rivalry between prominent cities such as Smyrna and Ephesus was intensified by the competition between their most prominent sophists, Aelius Aristides, Polemo, and Favorinus. Even though neither Aristides nor Polemo were native to Smyrna, both became patrons of the city. Aristides was so successful in his relations with Rome, and specifically with the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, that he secured donations to have the city rebuilt after a massive earthquake.

In Aristides' Oration XIX to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, he utilizes verbal persuasion in appealing to the emperors to convince them to rebuild the city. He refers to Smyrna as, "the ornament of Asia, the jewel of your empire (*Or.* XIX.1)." ⁹³ Aristides utilizes words that will separate Smyrna from neighboring provincial cities and force it to appear superior before the eyes of the emperors. He also manipulates the emperors with allusions to past benefactions. In the same oration Aristides compellingly says:

Smyrna, which was the most fortunate city of present day Greece through the efforts of the gods and you emperors past and present, as well as the Senate, has now suffered the greatest misfortune in our memory (XIX.1).

Here, Aristides once again alludes to Smyrna's supremacy over other cities, while relating the influence Rome has had upon it. He refers not only to past emperors, but also includes the Senate and present emperors. In praising Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, he makes the refusal of his requests difficult. It was in this way that Aristides successfully argued that Smyrna be rebuilt.

Second Sophistic orators were able to secure many benefits for their cities through verbal manipulation and flattery. It was for this reason that it became a medium for rivalry during the Late Second and Third centuries.

⁹³ All translations of Aelius Aristides are by Behr because the Greek text has not been made available yet.

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATIONS

I would like to give thanks to R. R. R. Smith and New York University's Aphrodisias Project for allowing me to utilize images.



Figure 1. Obv: Head of Claudius, facing l. TICLAVD CAESAVG; Rev. Rome crowning Augustus standing within a two column temple. ROMETAVG below the pediment, COM ASI flanks the columns. (*BMCRE* 1.196).



Figure 2. Map of the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Region. (After Ratté 2008, Fig. 1; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

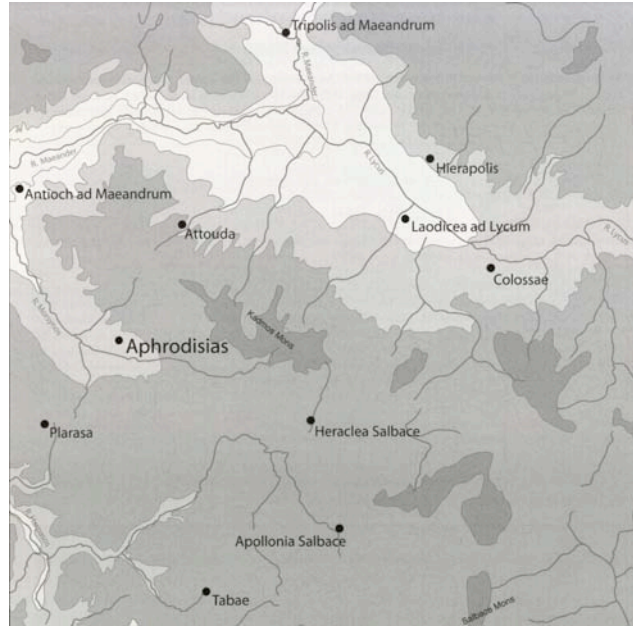


Figure 3. Map of NE Caria. (After Ratté 2008, Fig. 3; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 4. Partially Reconstructed South Portico; Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

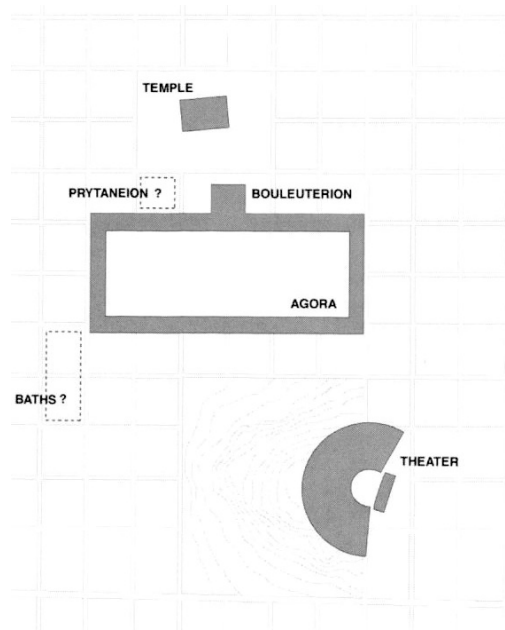


Figure 5a. Aphrodisias. Plan of City Center, Late Hellenistic Period. (After Ratté 2008, Fig. 10; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

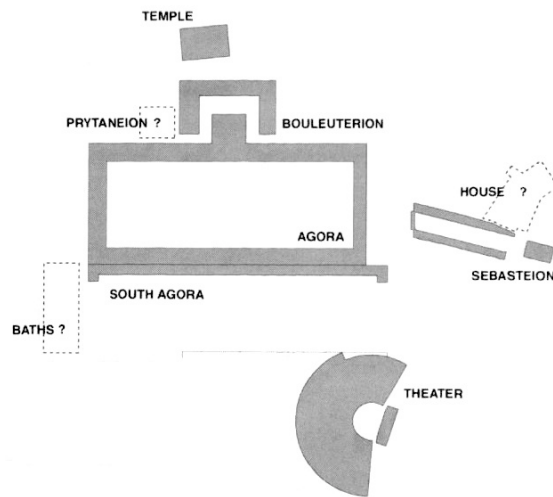


Figure 5b. Aphrodisias. Plan of City Center, Early Imperial additions. (After Ratté 2008, Fig. 10; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

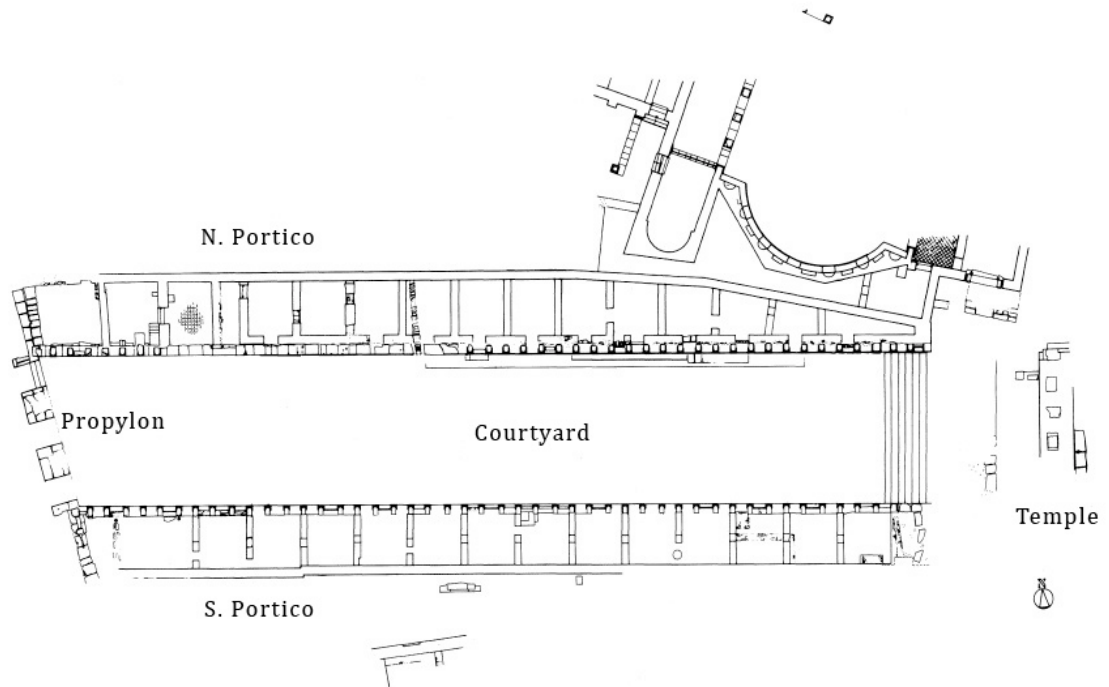


Figure 6. Plan of the Sebasteion complex. (After Smith 1987, Fig. 1; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project)

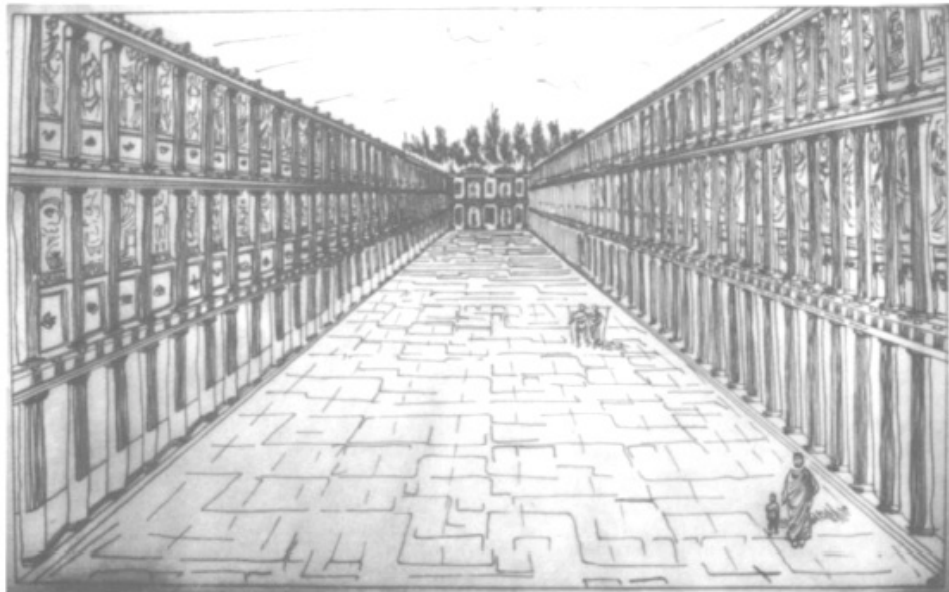


Figure 7. Reconstruction looking west toward Propylon. (After Smith 1987, Fig. 3; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

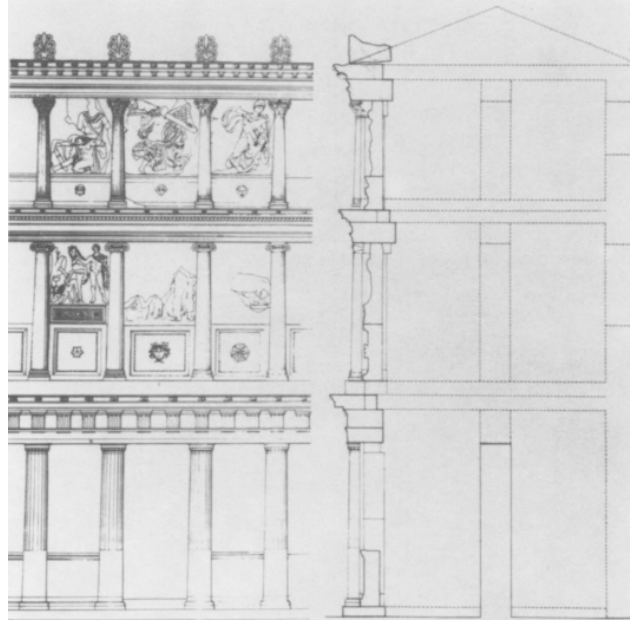


Figure 8. Reconstruction of South Portico, room three. (After Smith 1987, Fig. 2; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

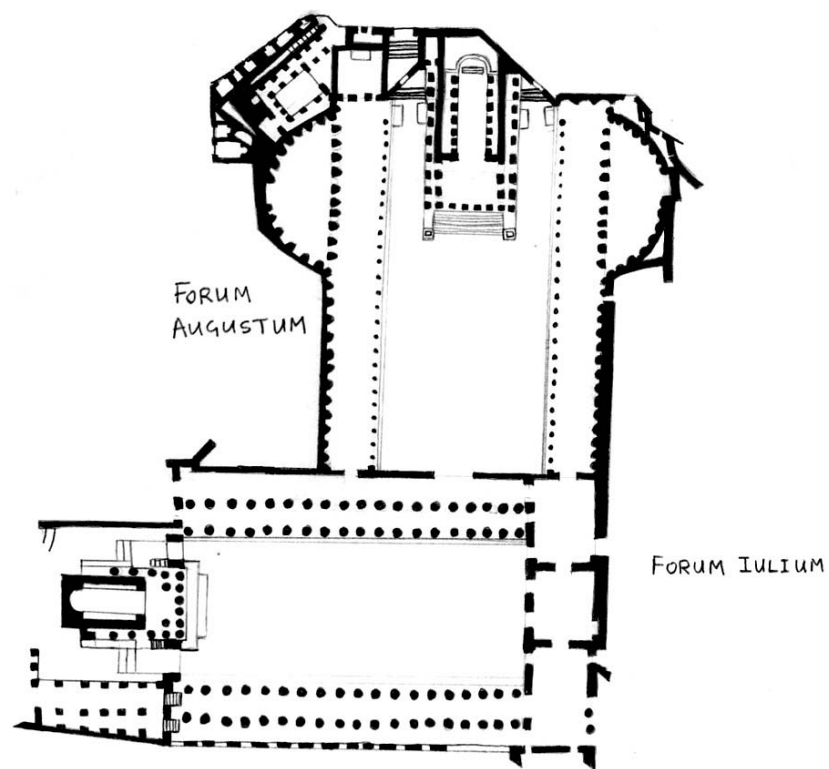


Fig. 9. Imperial Fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus. Drawing by Kayleigh Pinkett. (After Gros 1996, Fig. 255).

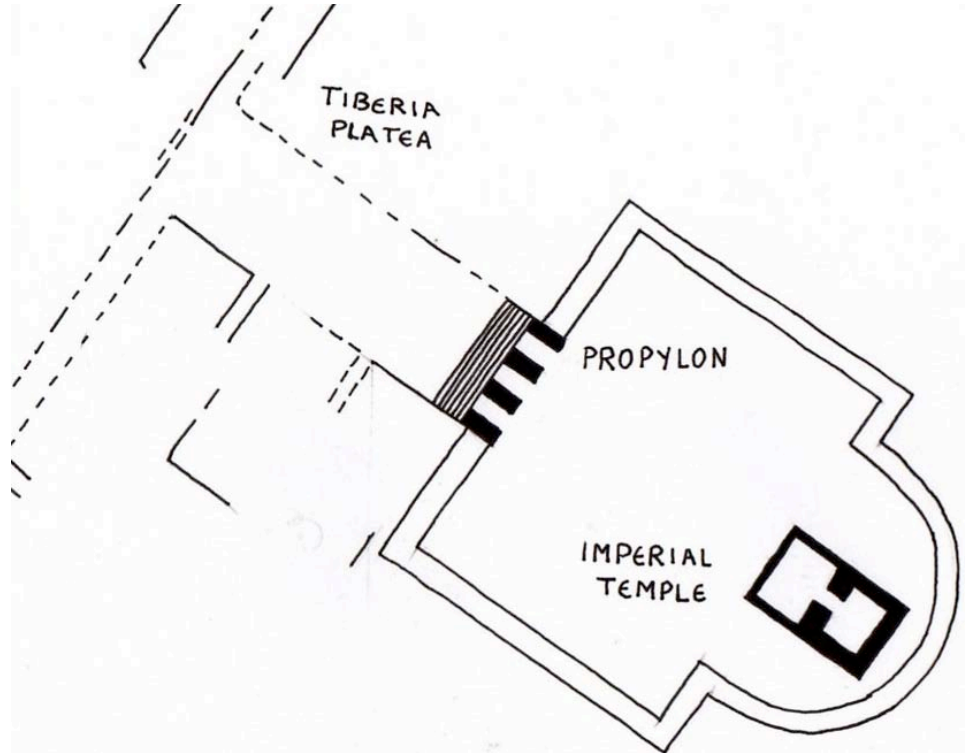


Figure 10. Layout of Temple of Augustus at Psidian Antioch. Drawing by Kayleigh Pinkett. (After Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, Fig. 18).

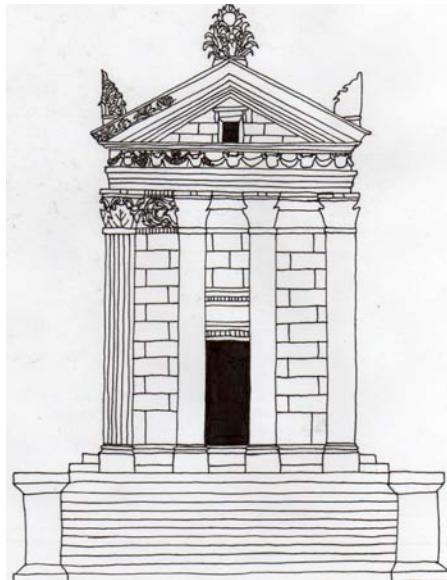


Figure 11. Temple of Augustus at Psidian Antioch. Drawing by Kayleigh Pinkett. (After Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, Fig. 25).



Figure 12. Acroterion from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project)



Figure 13. Relief panels depicting Hemera and Okeanos, from North Portico. (After Smith 1988, Pl. VII, nos. 3-4; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

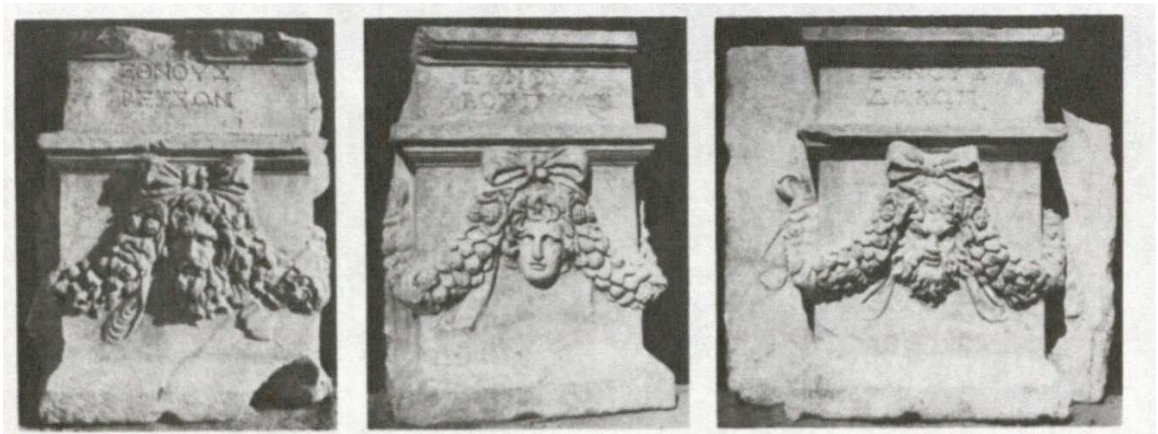


Figure 14. *Ethne* bases with garlands and inscriptions. (After Smith 1988, Pl. VIII, nos. 1-3; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 15. *Ethne* statues, from North Portico. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

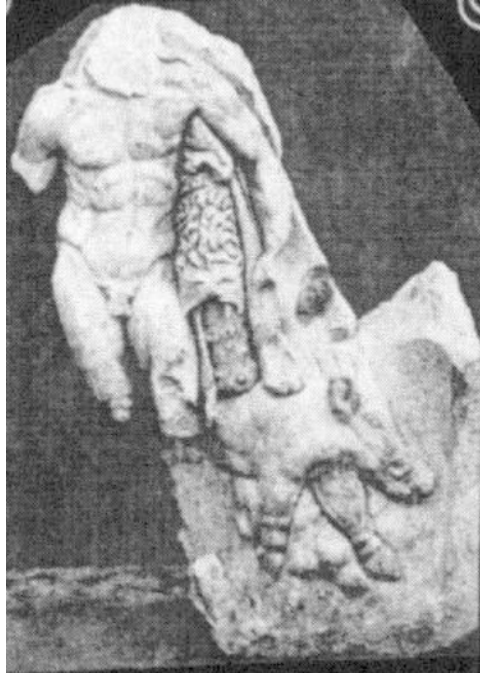


Figure 16. Herakles and Boar. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 12; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 17. Herakles and Prometheus. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 18. Child Dionysus with Nymphs. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 12; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project)

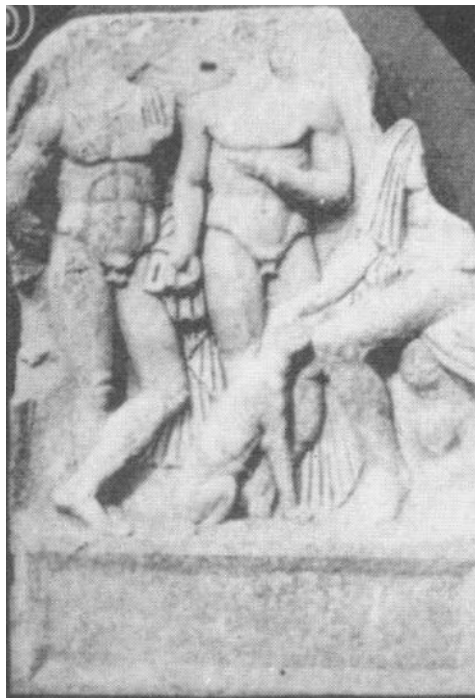


Figure 19. Hunting scene of three men with a dog. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 11; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 20. Meleager and Boar. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 7; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 21. Aphrodite with Baby Eros. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 9; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure. 22. Aeneas' Flight from Troy. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 23. Poseidon. (After Smith 1990, Fig. 9; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 24. Augustus with Land and Sea. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 25. Claudius and Britannia. (Photograph by P. Stinson; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).



Figure 26. Nero and Armenia. (After Smith 1987, Pl. XVI, no. 7; Courtesy New York University Aphrodisias Project).

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